

SPERIMENTAZIONE DI MODELLI PER IL RAFFORZAMENTO DELLE ISTITUZIONI ALLE QUALI È AFFIDATA LA CONSERVAZIONE DEL PATRIMONIO CULTURALE: CASI DI STUDIO IN CINA E IN EL SALVADOR

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ABSTRACT

Nella parte introduttiva di questo contributo, allo scopo di evidenziare le origini delle strategie di intervento settoriali adottate oggi, si ripercorrono le tappe principali che precedono la nascita della Cooperazione Italiana allo Sviluppo.

Infatti l'ambito specifico della conservazione del patrimonio culturale aveva registrato già a partire dagli anni '50, una intensa attività di scambio a livello internazionale e di vera e propria cooperazione con paesi in via di sviluppo.

Sono poi analizzati modelli settoriali di *capacity building* particolarmente efficaci e adattabili ad altre realtà geografiche e culturali, sperimentati nella Repubblica Popolare Cinese e in El Salvador. L'azione italiana in Cina ha avuto inizio nel 1988 ed è proseguita senza interruzione per venticinque anni. La creazione di centri di formazione di livello regionale prima, e successivamente di livello nazionale, ha prodotto un cambiamento profondo nell'intero paese del livello professionale degli specialisti che si occupano della conservazione del patrimonio culturale tangibile.

L'America Centrale e in particolare El Salvador rappresentano una seconda area geografica particolarmente adatta alla sperimentazione di modelli di intervento caratterizzati da evidenti collegamenti con problematiche sociali.

Tra le attività condotte in El Salvador nel quadriennio 2009-2013 dalla Cooperazione Italiana attraverso l'Istituto Italo-Latino Americano, assieme all'Università Roma Tre, alle università centroamericane e alle istituzioni nazionali competenti per i diversi settori di intervento, particolarmente rilevante è stata la realizzazione del *Seminario. Centroamericano sobre la conservación y la valorización del patrimonio cultural - CULT 2011* che ha prodotto la *Declaración de San Salvador para la potenciación de la conservación y de la tutela del patrimonio cultural Centroamericano y del turismo sostenible*, punto di partenza per una azione di sviluppo organica e condivisa a livello regionale.

LE ORIGINI DELL'IMPEGNO ITALIANO PER LA CONSERVAZIONE DEL PATRIMONIO CULTURALE MATERIALE NEI PAESI IN VIA DI SVILUPPO.

L'attenzione che da molti decenni è rivolta all'Italia come paese di riferimento per la conservazione del patrimonio culturale trova un evidente collegamento con la ininterrotta sequenza di contributi sul piano normativo e metodologico che costituiscono una delle più ricche vicende nazionali nel campo della tutela del patrimonio culturale. Particolarmente interessante è la precoce tendenza alla collaborazione internazionale che si riscontra in questo settore e che rappresenta una chiave di lettura dell'impegno settoriale della Cooperazione Italiana allo Sviluppo fin dal momento della sua creazione.

L'azione all'estero degli specialisti italiani nel campo del restauro, quasi sempre limitata fino agli anni '40 del Novecento al restauro dei monumenti archeologici e storici con la mediazione delle missioni archeologiche attive nel Mediterraneo, si estende successivamente alla pittura e alla scultura grazie all'impegno di Cesare Brandi, noto storico dell'arte e fondatore nel 1941 dell'Istituto Centrale del Restauro. L'azione di Brandi si colloca in quel clima di cooperazione intellettuale che si era generato dopo la fine della Prima Guerra Mondiale. Lo storico dell'arte italiano assume un ruolo di primo piano nel dibattito internazionale sulla pulitura dei dipinti e sulla conservazione delle patine, scaturito nel 1947 dalla mostra *An exhibition of Cleaned Pictures* presso la National Gallery di Londra, stabilisce una forte relazione con l'UNESCO fin dal momento della sua creazione e successivamente con l'ICCROM a Roma.

Nonostante la scarsità delle risorse finanziarie e le numerose richieste di intervento sul territorio nazionale a cui l'Istituto appena rimesso in funzione dopo la fine del conflitto bellico deve far fronte con un organico assai ridotto, l'impegno all'estero voluto da Brandi è in continua crescita e rappresenterà un campo di attività fondamentale nei decenni successivi.

Aumenta la presenza di studenti e di stagisti stranieri ammessi a frequentare i corsi triennali nell'istituto romano e pertanto si crea in breve tempo una efficiente rete di collegamenti internazionali. Si costituisce una vera e propria *task force* per l'attività al di fuori dell'Italia. Molti degli interventi di successo effettuati all'estero riguarderanno la pittura murale, ambito per il quale veniva riconosciuto all'istituto romano un vero primato.

A BETTER KNOWLEDGE FOR A BETTER COOPERATION: THE CONTRIBUTION OF HUMAN SCIENCES FOR AN INTERCULTURAL COOPERATION TO DEVELOPMENT

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The panel aimed at bringing together researchers in human sciences who share an attentive eye to the specific import of local cultures, knowledge and tradition in the activities subsumed under the collective, and often too vague, concept of cooperation to development.

Our basic idea was that a good preventive analysis of the field, of the human groups living and interacting (and sometimes coming into conflicts) in it, of their specific cultures and languages (often widely divergent among themselves) – chiefly in the poorest areas of the countries in the South of the World – represents a priority in the planning of cooperation projects that aim at efficiency either in terms of empowerment or of assumption of responsibility and management by the local partners. We believe that achieving these aims could bring a better stability of the partnership and a better time continuity in the sustainable-development projects proposed and initiated by international partners.

These ideas derive of course from our direct field experience, and we think that they are – sometimes tacitly – shared nowadays among practitioners in cooperation and development. They are widely echoed in projects in such different fields as, to mention just a few, eco-farming, sustainable tourism and cultural and linguistic revitalization. Here and elsewhere the vision lying behind these projects and inspiring them has enabled, we dare say, a considerable level of success. It is a vision which stresses the enormous value of the specific cultures and traditions of the local people(s) in a perspective which can be labelled a *dynamic safeguard of the past*, and whose actual and final aim is to assure the safeguard of the traditional heritage of the communities involved or in any way interested in the project. As an additional – but far from secondary – bonus, these communities could therefore more spontaneously and confidentially join the project and accept the new perspective of eco-compatible growth promoted by the investors.

These ideas were developed and conjugated during the panel in such different areas as: ethnicity and their political exploitation (Fontana), language and educational policy (Manfredi and Tosco), agro-forestral cooperation among marginalized peoples (Micheli), the archaeological data on ancient farming systems with an eye to facilitate the design of future strategies for sustainable land-use (Sernicola), or, finally, socio-technical innovations and the collective participation of the community (Silvestri).

The proceedings put together all the contributions presented and thoroughly discussed at CUCSTorino2013, and namely, in alphabetical order:

- Lorenza Belinda Fontana: *The power of ethnic labeling: the role of international cooperation and academic community in shaping the new indigenous movement in Bolivia*
- Stefano Manfredi and Mauro Tosco: *Language uses vs. language policy: South Sudan and Juba Arabic in the post-independence era*
- Ilaria Micheli: *Safeguarding the past to guarantee a better future: the role of ethnolinguistics in the NECOFA projects among the Mariashoni Okiek community*
- Luisa Sernicola: *Strategies of land exploitation and management in the area of Aksum (Northern Ethiopia) between the 1st millennium BC and the 1st millennium AD*
- Federico Silvestri: *The case of Zimbabwe Bushpump like a socio-technical network*

We offer them in the hope that they may raise consciousness on the – in our view, fundamental – role of human sciences in cooperation.

THE POWER OF ETHNIC LABELLING: THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND ACADEMIC COMMUNITY IN SHAPING THE NEW INDIGENOUS MOVEMENT IN BOLIVIA

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ABSTRACT

Since the electoral victory of the Aymara coca growers' leader Evo Morales in 2005, Bolivia has been undergoing a phase of political transition. One of the most important element within this process is the consolidation of a new discourse around the 'indigenous' that led to key instructional reforms inspired by the so-called 'identity politics'. This phenomenon cannot be fully understood without considering the role, over the last three decades, of external actors, including the international cooperation and the academic community, and their active support to the emerging indigenous movements as well as to the process of legislative reform. This paper will propose a critical perspective on normative paradigms inspired by the 'politics of recognition', through the presentation of two case-studies: the role played by the Danish cooperation in funding the titling of collective indigenous land, and the foundation of a native organization among aymara and uru communities, under the guidance and advice of a group of anthropologists.

As policymakers, practitioners and researchers, we use 'frames' and 'labels' to help our analysis and to describe to others what we do (...) While they may be efficient, such labeling processes are also dynamic and political. Therefore they can produce unintended, and sometimes, unwelcome consequences. For example, labeling may shift – or sustain - power relations in ways that trigger social dislocation and prejudice efforts to achieve greater equality (IDS, 2006)

INTRODUCTION

Since the election of President Evo Morales in 2005, Bolivia has been undergoing a phase of political transition. This process undoubtedly constituted a breakthrough in contemporary Bolivian politics, especially for the sudden and massive inclusion of rural and popular sectors in the national political arena. However, the elements of continuity with the previous three decades are as well significant. One of the most important is the consolidation of a new discourse around the 'indigenous' that led to key instructional reforms inspired by the so-called 'identity politics'.¹ Indeed, with the end of the long cycle of military *golpes*, Bolivia has become a laboratory for testing of the political use of recognition. In this framework, the indigenous movements took a new shape, and developed discursive categories that had a strong cultural and ethnic connotation, starting as well to claim for the demarcation of their ancestral territories [1].

This phase of revitalization of indigenous identities and claims stands in opposition with the trend that dominated during the period between the national revolution of 1952 and the end of the dictatorial period in 1982. In this phase, the Bolivian post-revolutionary governments put in practice a systematic project of 'transformation' of indigenous into peasants. In the 1950s and 1960s, a process of massive *campesinization* imposed the peasant union as a new dominant form of rural organization. At the same time, the affirmation of the *mestizaje* ideology promoted class-based identities instead of ethnic-based indigenous identities as collective mechanisms of self-identification [2]. As a result, in the following 30 years, the very notion of citizenship in the rural world overlapped with the belonging to a peasant union [3]. However, these efforts didn't lead to the disappearance of the ethnic issue for complete. One of the main reasons is the historical and sociological relevance of ethnicity, not only, as it is often emphasized, in the pre-colonial epoch, but also as essential part of the way in which the Bolivian, and more in general Latin American states, were constituted over the last two centuries (what Paula Lopez Caballero, called the *régimes national d'altérité* [4]).

Between the 1970s and the 1990s, new highly politicized social organizations emerged, moved by a strong ethno-

¹ This is true at least during the first phase of *Movimiento al Socialismo* (MAS)'s government, until the approval of the new Constitution (January 2009) and Morales' reelection in 2010. In the second and current political phase, the relation with the indigenous sectors became tenser. The breakthrough was marked mainly by the conflict around the *Territorio Indígena Parque Isiboro Sécure* (TIPNIS), where an indigenous-ecologist coalition was formed to mobilize against the State's project of contracting a road throughout the natural park and indigenous territory.

cultural identity and agenda, bringing the ‘indigenous issue’ back into the Bolivian public scene. Similar phenomena occurred at the same time in other Latin American contexts, pushed by socio-economic transformations within rural groups, changes in the political contexts as well as by a new international sensibility *vis a vis* this issue and the rise of a specific and unique legal framework. The latter was based on some striking assumptions, namely: that the issues regarding the treatment of ethno-cultural diversity had become “matters of legitimate international concern and consequently do not constitute exclusively an affair of the respective state” [5]. And that the indigenous issue, which has always had a unique standing within international law [6], had to be addressed through a series of special measures, which in principle constituted exceptions to the post-war set of international rules regarding ethno-cultural minorities. In particular: the recognition of land claims, language rights and customary law and their aspirations “to exercise control over their own institutions” [7].

The new dimension and strategic importance acquired by ethnicity and indigenous movements in Bolivia cannot be fully understood without considering the role of external actors. Under the influence of the international debate on multiculturalism, and of a wave of intellectual fascination towards indigenous issues, a multiplication of cooperation programs took place and a number of *ad hoc* organizations, often run by academics, with an ethno-developmentist focus emerged. In particular, international cooperation and the academics play an active role both in providing funds and advice to the emerging indigenous groups as well as in supporting national institutions in the generation of a new policy framework to address ethnic diversity. However, the operationalization of the differences between social groups through the introduction of ethnic labeling (as criteria of self-identification and of policy design) proved to be an extremely complicated task and entails both epistemological and operational challenges.

This paper will propose a theoretical perspective on normative paradigms inspired by the politics of recognition as well as an analysis of two case-studies drawn from Bolivian recent history. In particular, it will focus on the role of both cooperation agencies and academic community in ‘shaping’ the new indigenous movements as a relevant political subject. This fact was at the bases of both a pluralizing and more inclusive political transition as well as of new tensions between rural (peasant and indigenous) organizations.

THE RISE OF NEOINDIGENISM AND THE ROLE OF EXTERNAL ACTORS

Although the 1960s and 1970s marked the rise of an intellectual stream – the *Katarism* – with deep ethno-cultural bases and of a political movement able to incorporate this discourse and bring it to the national stage, the ethno-cultural issue did not manage to reach a relevant position in the political agenda. It was in the 1980s that the historical situation of identitarian plurality and related problems of exclusion and discrimination (in the economic as well as in the political and cultural domains) was revitalized as discursive base of a new intellectual and academic current, able to give birth to its own political and social platform. To affirm itself, this movement had to develop new categories that, on the one side, were rooted on a strong cultural and ethnic base around the concept of ‘indigenous’, but, differently from *Katarism*, took distance from the syndical corporatist organization. Through a radicalization of the ‘indigenous’, it looked for the affirmation of new social and political subjects – the indigenous peoples –, through the consecration of cultural differences as fundamental lines of social differentiation. Moreover, this movement started to formulate specific territorial claims, arguing that the process of identitarian recognition should be accompanied by land titling and demarcation. In the following years, the indigenous identity became one of the most important factors of political shaping and, with the passing of time, would play a key role as mechanism of social aggregation with high potentialities in term of mobilization and antagonism.

During the 1990s, at the national level, a new political doctrine, generally referred to as ‘neoindigenism’² [9] started to emerge, which marked a breakthrough with respect to the assimilationist model that prevailed in the previous decades. Bolivia shared this process with other Latin American countries, where, in the same period, new constitutional and legislative reforms were implemented, which recognized the pluriethnic and multicultural character of national societies. These reforms entail a change of perspective in symbolic terms, but also a concrete turning point generated by the institutionalization of new rules to regulate the recognition of diversity through the positive right. This process, considering both its top-down and bottom-up mechanisms, was highly influenced by the international community (academics and practitioners)³.

From the 1970s, in Latin America and mainly in the Andean region, a number of anthropologists and ethno-historians, influenced by the work of John Murra, started to highlight the specificities of indigenous communities in past and present times, privileging ethnic over classist categories [11]. At the end of the 1970s, two meetings were organized in the Barbados islands, where, for the first time, a concern was expressed about the need, not only of studying, but also of assuming a concrete compromise to support the emancipation and the development of indigenous

² I define this phenomenon ‘neoindigenism’ to distinguish it from indigenism (*indigenismo*), an ideology that spread in many Latin American countries in the first half of the XX century as an “essential aspect of the ideology of national ethnogenesis, the creation of a new national identity based on the *mestizo*” [8].

³ The role of NGOs and foreign intellectuals in Bolivia and particularly within social movements is not completely new. An example is constituted by the interrelations between *Katarism*, the theology of liberation and some NGOs with international support such as CIPCA. In this sense, key figures are the Catalan Jesuit and intellectual Xavier Albó and the sociologist Javier Hurtado [10].

peoples, through the strengthening of their rights and of their cultural and ethnic identities. In Bolivia, the German anthropologist Jürgen Riester, expert in lowland and Amazonian indigenous groups, decided to support a process of indigenous revitalization. In 1978, he obtained international cooperation's funds to build a shelter called *Casa del Campesino* for the Ayoreos⁴ that migrated to the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra and that lived in condition of poverty and marginalization. In 1980, Riester together with other colleagues, founded the NGO Support *Apoyo Para el Campesino Indígena del Oriente Boliviano* (APCOB), which received funds from the Danish cooperation (DANIDA) and the NGOs Hivos, Oxfam America and Cultural Survival, to bring about long-term projects that linked development programs with institutional strengthening. From that moment, lowland indigenous groups started to be politically structured and, in 1982, the *Central Indígena del Oriente Boliviano* (CIDOB), that later on changed its name in *Confederación de Pueblos Indígenas de Bolivia*, was founded. This organization became one of the main social actors of the lowlands and played a key role within national politics, proposing an innovative project of state reform and putting forward the issue of indigenous rights [12]. At the beginning, this fact generated tensions with other organizations that worked in the area, such as the *Centro de Investigación y Promoción del Campesinado* (CIPCA), which still followed a classist paradigm of development, working with the peasant unions of the *Confederación Unica de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia* (CSUTCB), and considering the traditional organizations – especially the Guaraní traditional authorities, the *capitanias* – corrupted and involved in the exploitation of the population, especially in the sugarcane harvest.⁵ However, in a few years, ABCOB and CIDOB became one of the most important receptors of international funding.

Contemporaneously, in the western part of the country, similar experiences of symbiosis between academic and development cooperation sectors took place, which started to implement projects of what was defined 'transnational ethno-development' or 'development with identity' [13]⁶. The most important was the *Taller de historia oral andiana* (THOA) created in 1983 in La Paz with the support of Oxfam America. This project developed researches on the indianist movement between 1869 and 1950, with the explicit aim to promote a policy of strengthening of indigenous history, culture and identity in the highlands [15]. The results served as discursive bases for the legitimation of a movement of 'reconstruction of the *ayllus*'.⁷ The relationship of this initiative with the peasant unions was obviously tense, especially because an implicit critic was addressed to the syndical organization, accused to be a 'continuation of colonialism' [17]. In 1988, another linked transnational coalitions financed the creation of some federations of *ayllus* in the departments of Norte Potosí and Oruro [18], as will be described more in details in the forth section.

A second example of transnationally rooted ethno-development was the *Proyecto de Autodesarrollo Campesino* (PAC) started in the Oruro department in 1988 and sponsored by the European Union. In this case, 21 million dollars were invested to finance micro-projects with the aim to improve the small scale agricultural and livestock production [19]. The selected stakeholder for the program was the organization of the *ayllus* and its native authorities, which were thus legitimated to the detriment of local syndical leaders. Mainly thanks to these projects, at the end of 1989, three sub-departmental federations of *ayllus* existed, which promoted an alternative development and organizational model on an ethnic basis. As a culmination of this process, in March 1997 in Ch'allapata, the *Consejo Nacional of Ayllus y Markas del Qullasuyu* (CONAMAQ) was founded and consecrated as the "national authority of the Aymaras, Quechuas and Urus" [20]. In the first stage, this organization made great efforts to differentiate itself from its natural competitor – the CSUTCB – though an ethnic-based discourse that emphasized the 'genuineness' of this movement as expression of an 'original' Andean peoples' identity [21]. The key concept in this sense was the 'nativeness', which allowed this organization not only to take distance from the peasants, but also from the indigenous of the East, and to build thus its own identitarian boundaries. Here are some examples of this kind of discourse:

We are native. We are neither indigenous, nor peasants. Whoever could be peasant! Ruben Costas⁸ could be peasant, since he has its own ranching activity. We didn't come from another country, but we are native, legitimated owners of our land and territory. (...) In the highlands there are no peasants. They call us peasants, but we are not. We are native. We are native nations.⁹

How could one say that the peasants, the syndicates are pre-existent to the colony? This is a serious matter. (...) In the past, they call us 'indians', 'aboriginal', 'ethnic group'. These concepts were rejected, buried, and new ones are rising to reach the true meaning. We are not indigenous, we are native.¹⁰

⁴ An indigenous group of the Amazon.

⁵ Interview with a former officer of APCOB, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, 22.8.2010.

⁶ Guillaume Boccara and Paola Bolados studied similar processes in Chile, focusing in particular on ethno-development policies implemented by state or para-state institutions (ethno-government) with the aim to strengthen partnerships with indigenous communities, to hold them accountable and seek, following the World Bank's motto to 'help them helping themselves'. This and other works of Boccara aim to describe ethno-developmentism as the point of juncture between the capitalist, neoliberal market and cultural diversity [14].

⁷ The *ayllu* is a form of extended familiar community originally from the Andean region, which work the land in a collective form in the framework of a commonly owned territory. In its origin, the *ayllu* was a territorial unity that gathered a lineage of related families, belonging to segmented and dual hierarchies, with different geographical scale and complexity [16].

⁸ One of the most important leaders of the regionalist movement of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

⁹ Interview with a Jiliri Apu Mallku, most important authority of CONAMAQ, La Paz, 5.8.2010.

¹⁰ Interview with an advisor of the CONAMAQ, La Paz, 5.8.2010.

Meanwhile, CONAMAQ started a 'proselytism campaign' in the highlands trying to 'convert' rural communities to the *ayllus*' cause through a discourse based on a shared historical memory and pre-colonial identity. Reinterpreting the anti-colonialist principles of the indigenous movement's ideology, the *ayllu*'s activists presented their organization and the native authorities as 'more indigenous' (in term of authenticity) and with more potential (in terms of development), rapidly creating a powerful rival movement for the peasant organizations of the highlands.¹¹ Nevertheless, CONAMAQ did not manage to replace the peasant union that, on the contrary, imposed itself in the national scene leading important social mobilizations after 2000. A multifaceted relationship was thus established between the two organizations that has been at the origin of a complex and fragmented socio-political scenario until today.

International cooperation agencies and anthropologists also played a key role in influencing the process of institutional reforms that underpinned this 'indigenous rise'. In the 90s, two reforms made by neoliberal governments contributed to change the rural identity-building process, and in particular to modify the political space around indigenous peoples: (1) The Popular Participation Law that, in 1995, introduced mechanisms of devolution of power and a formal distinction classifying communities as indigenous or peasant; (2) The Law of the National Institute of the Agrarian Reform (*Ley del Instituto Nacional de la Reforma Agraria*, INRA) of 1996 that legalized the Native Communitarian Lands (*Tierras Comunitarias de Origen*, TCOs), i.e. vast territorial areas assigned on an ethnic bases. Although the indigenous issues *per se* were not of particular interest to a wider electorate and not even to the vast majority of people who might be described as indigenous [23], these reforms triggered a process of political ethnicization [24], which, despite the explicit aim to deepen country's democracy, ended up generating a certain degree of fragmentation and the rise of particular, rather than national, identities. In fact, this process benefited geographically concentrated social movements, whether regionalist or ethnically rooted [25]. As Manuel Centellas wrote, "ironically Bolivia became politically unstable after reforms that improved the political system's representativeness and embraced multiculturalism" [26]. These legislative initiatives of the neoliberal governments benefited in their implementation by the fundamental support of the international cooperation, especially North European. One of the most interesting cases is the support of the Danish cooperation agency (DANIDA) to the process of titling of indigenous territories.

DANIDA AND THE INDIGENOUS LAND TITLING

In Bolivia, one of the most important and effective indigenous-related cooperation programs in terms of impact was the DANIDA's program *Support to the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, whose aim was to generate a "growing recognition and implementation of the rights of indigenous peoples, in combination with the active and democratic participation of the indigenous population in an economic and political development process" [27]. In concrete terms, the program, which developed along 15 years from 1995 to 2010, provided support and advice to the Bolivian state to implement the TCOs' titling, the process of decentralization and popular participation, the bilingual education in the lowlands, and the sustainable management of natural resources in the TCOs. All in all, it was an effort of mainstreaming of the indigenous issue in the design of development programs and public policies. However, reading the program's systematization documents, it often emerges a simplistic vision of the indigenous issue. Moreover, although there is a recognition of the strategic role of social movements in the generation of tensions over land tenure, the focus rests mainly on the vertical conflictive axes (*latifundio* vs. indigenous), neglecting the multiple horizontal conflictive axes (between social organizations).

Despite these problems, the Danish cooperation has considered its strategy of support to Bolivian indigenous peoples as one of its most successful programs, as it is clearly stated in the final report. A similar opinion has a Danish Embassy's officer that was in charge of the program for four years:

This program has been one of the most successful I have ever seen, since it was well formulated and it led to interesting results. In terms of land, 11 million hectares were titled, which correspond to the 70 or 80% of what has been titled for indigenous peoples.¹² It was not only a titling process but an empowerment process of these peoples.¹³

Clearly, the effects on identity-building processes and the positive discrimination criteria introduced in favor of the indigenous were not only well known, but explicitly incentivized.

A different and more critical opinion on the role of the international cooperation in the process of ethnic identities' revitalization is the one of a former officer of the Viceministry of Indigenous Issues:

¹¹ For a recent study of the fights between *ayllus* and peasant organizations in the Norte Potosí see Le Gouill, 2011 [22]. Focusing on permanent organizational tensions around the construction of identities and the definition of regional spaces of power, this article shows how the rise of the MAS at the national level triggered a process of reconfiguration and generates new forms of ethnicized political representations whose goal is the management of economic and natural resources based on a rather developmentist vision.

¹² During the first 10 years of implementation, the international funding contributed to cover the 67% of the total costs for the TCOs' titling process. Moreover, until December 2009, 135 TCOs were titled thanks to the support of DANIDA [28].

¹³ Interview with a Project Manager of DANIDA, La Paz, 11.6.2011.

There are cooperation agencies that expressly supported exclusively indigenous peoples, and not the peasant sector, because they thought that, from the 169 ILO Convention, the logic of indigenous peoples was different and that it had been made invisible. This fact has been contributing to the resurgence of certain identities and to the empowerment of others. (...) In fact, distortions introduced by the international cooperation's funds generated conflicts, since it is true that there are cooperation agencies that only sponsor indigenous, and not peasants.¹⁴

Another important element that the interviewee mentioned is that the civil society's stakeholders of this kind of programs were mainly indigenous organizations – i.e. CONAMAQ and CIDOB – while CSUTCB, for its syndical nature, was not taken into consideration, ignoring thus, and in the long term probably contributing to weaken, its original indianist stream. According to the Danish Embassy's officer, the stakeholders' selection was made according to a criteria of 'most representativeness' in ethnic terms: "It was considered that CONAMAQ and CIDOB were the most representative within the indigenous world, the most organized and with national representation".¹⁵ However, these decisions generated much critics and discontent within peasant organizations, which accused the international actors to benefit a social group to the detriment of another one. I quote here an example:

The cooperation is the empire and we are puppets that say what the cooperation wants us to say. The cooperation makes the agenda. Since there is money, invitations, good hotels, flight tickets, they buy interlocutors, ventriloquists. All the money that comes from Finland, Norway, Denmark, comes to destroy syndicalism, Marxism. Supposedly, they think they come to destroy communism. Who are the communists? Syndicates! Who should they support? The neutral, those that are not going to make any problem, the *carriñosos* [affectionate people]. And who are they? Indigenous and CONAMAQ (...).¹⁶

ANTHROPOLOGISTS AND THE CREATION OF A NEW INDIGENOUS ORGANIZATION IN ORURO

Among the generation of young anthropologists that, in the 1970s and 1980s, started to get involved with indigenous communities carrying out an intense ethnographic and political work of historical reconstruction and memories collection, one of the most relevant and influential works was carried out by the *Antropólogos del Sur Andino* (ASUR) in the altiplanic department of Oruro. In the mid-1980s, they conducted an ethnographic research to trace back the historical trajectory of the 'ethnic unit' of the actual Quillacas community. The results of this study – entitled 'From aymara kingdoms to communities'¹⁷ – had important and unexpected consequences in the local debate on the organizational fragmentation that the region was experiencing, eventually inspiring the conformation of a new explicitly native (*originaria*) organization called *Federation de Ayllus del Sur de Oruro* (FASOR). This organization and territorial unit, which coincided with the ethnic regional demarcation of the XVI century, was intended as a way of unifying the ancestral territory, consolidate a common ethnic identity and cohesively negotiate with the state and international NGOs operating in the region through important programs of local development.

FASOR was formally constituted in 1989 during a meeting of the traditional authorities of the *ayllus* of Southern Oruro, whose primary goal was to analyze the intervention and impact of NGOs and national development programs in the region. The anthropologies played a key role in supporting the organization of the event and in gathering funding (from the Swiss cooperation agency SDC) to sponsor it. During the meeting, the historical study was presented and, at least according to its authors [30], had a significant impact in influencing the minds of local authorities. On the one side, it generated a sense of urgency on the need to resolve problems of poverty and exclusion in the region and, on the other side, it rescued a long-term tradition as a basis for the reconstruction of a unifying political entity of the *ayllus* to contrast fragmentation. A decision was made to create a new organization, and, at the moment of defining its name, the authorities explicitly asked for the advice of one of the anthropologists present at the meeting, Ramiro Molina Rivera. As he reported in a later book, in his intervention, he emphasized the indigenous past and memory as the elements that articulated these communities in the past and that could serve as catalyzing forces against fragmentation still in those days. The opinion of external actors was greatly considered by local authorities. Answering to some leaders who feared racist reactions and prejudices around indigenous categories, an authority of the community of Pampa Aullagas said:

True, the Bolivians are so afraid to speak the Aymara language, the same happens with the Quechua, but foreigner people, the *gringos*, appreciate our language, while Bolivians say *indios*. On the contrary, we should be proud of our language. Therefore I agree to put the name of *ayllu* [31].

The creation of FESOR was the first step towards the rise of a new national native organization in the highlands. Two years later, the same group of anthropologists of ASUR was part of the creation of a similar federation of *ayllus* in

¹⁴ Interview with a former officer of the Viceministry of Indigenous Issues, La Paz, 5.8.2010.

¹⁵ Interview with a Project Manager of DANIDA, cit.

¹⁶ Interview with an advisor of the Bartolinas, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, 19.8.2010.

¹⁷ The research, coordinated by Rossana Barragán, was published in the book of Ramiro Molina Rivero (2006) [29].

the Norte Potosí region. There, a project was put in place with the aim of conducting a process of consultation with the *ayllus* on the Popular Participation Law. The hidden aim was the consolidation of a new native organization. The project was funded by the German cooperation agency. In this context, the resistance of the peasant unions was much stronger and started to feed and reactivate long-term conflicts. This was an unintended consequence for the anthropologists who participated in the process, since their idea was to create an integrated system *ayllu-union*¹⁸. However, the peasants strongly refused this option.

The culmination of this process was the foundation, in 1997, of CONAMAQ, as national organization of representation of the native peoples of the highlands. This organization played a key role in the mobilizations and ‘social wars’ (the water and gas conflicts in Cochabamba and El Alto) during the early 2000, was one of the main allies of Morales’ fist government, a crucial actor in the Constituent Assembly and still holds an important, although more critical, role in Bolivian national politics. In the words of one of the anthropologists that were part of this process, the rise of the native movement in the highlands was not endogenously driven, but rather the result of a symbiotic interaction between three main actors: local communities, anthropologists and cooperation agencies:

The very idea of indigenism and the new social movements does not arise only from their own conception and strength. It arises symbolically from non-indigenous intellectuals and mainly anthropologists and historians, some sociologists, and from the cooperation. (...) That creates a whole continental movement during the 80s. The same three axes generated the international conjuncture: indigenous leaders that started to articulate, supported by NGOs and cooperation, and anthropologists.¹⁹

Tellingly, some members of this group of anthropologists were, in the 1990s, part of the neoliberal governments, actively advocating for the incorporation of the international framework on the rights of indigenous peoples within Bolivian laws and Constitution. Ramiro Molina Rivero himself was the first National Secretary for Ethnic Affairs under the government of Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada and one of the main players in the design of the Popular Participation Law and the INRA Law, as mechanisms to grant more power, participation and territorial control to Bolivia indigenous and native groups.

CONCLUSIONS

In the case of Bolivia, and in particular, in the two case-studies that were briefly presented, a clear influence of external actors (academic and practitioners) can be detected, which actively influenced both the way people self-identified as well as the design of a new generation of public policies. These interventions were led by a political and ideological agenda, which somehow refers to the ‘theory of recognition’ and ‘identity politics’. The priority given to the classification and self-identification of social groups through ethnic categories was intended as a way to widening and deepening their rights through the recognition of their cultural and ethnic features. Although intellectual and political mechanisms inspired by the recognition paradigm contributed to the strengthening of the democratization process in the country and to the social and political inclusion of traditionally marginalized sectors of the population, the following paragraphs will briefly focus on some problems and limitations of those approaches and experiences.

One of the side effects related to the support of the international cooperation to indigenous organizations is the ‘professionalization’ of these movements – and of their leaders – as development actors. As Yvon Le Bot wrote referring to Latin America in general: “Indigenous actors and the militants that support them would tend to ‘professionalize’ themselves, to adopt essentially strategic conducts, fights of position and resources harnessing – financial, juridical and symbolic – and to enter, together with other actors, into a game of reciprocal instrumentalization” [32]. A ‘project-based logic’ is thus installed within the indigenous movements’ leadership, which converts them in sort of lobbies and managers of development, experts in fund-raising and in the use of a specific ethno-developmentist language [33]. This fact demonstrates a great adaptation capacity of these actors, while at the same time, it constitutes a consistent limit to their autonomy. Indeed, it triggers a vicious circle that strengthens the movements’ dependency from funds, advising and support of external agents, weakening their economic and ideological independence [34].

Secondly, the cases presented contribute to emphasize the normative reluctance of recognition. In the Bolivian context, traditionally characterized by a high degree of polarization of peasant and indigenous identities, it proves to be extremely difficult to identify the rules governing the conditions of success of (ethnic) recognition, formal procedures, as it were, that tell us when to recognize (in which contexts), and how to recognize (to whom is it appropriate to grant recognition, what counts as proper recognition). What rules the fact of conceding recognition to certain people, and not to others? This constitutive indeterminacy impinges tacitly on the normative use of recognition, with consequent problems at both the epistemological and political level. As the Bolivian case showed, it is generally very difficult (if not impossible) to operationalize the difference between social collectivities, making them viable on the basis of ethnic or identitarian categories. Moreover, institutionalizing the link between resource allocation and ethnicity (the

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Interview with an anthropologists and former National Secretary for Ethnic Affairs, La Paz, 6.6.2011.

recognition of native title as a basis for land-claims by indigenous people) and, in particular, stating a policy of positive discrimination dependent on displaying acknowledgement of ‘authentic’ identities, turns identity into a target, hence increasing the risk of an instrumental use of identity for economic or political purposes, and potentially multiplying conflicts between social organizations. All these critical aspects were apparently underestimated both by anthropologists and cooperation agencies.

As I mentioned, the social and political weight both at symbolic and concrete levels of rural and popular sectors has increased, especially from 2005, after the electoral victory of Evo Morales. Nevertheless, although I definitely recognize these important improvements, I would like to mention here a still controversial as well as widely underestimated issue concerning the effective impact of this dynamic on post-colonial marginalized groups and individuals. Kymlicka argues that:

In (...) the struggle against ethnic and racial hierarchy, what matters is not the change in international law *per se*, which has had little impact on most people’s everyday lives. The real change has been in people’s consciousness. Members of historically subordinated groups today demand equality, and demand it has a right. [36]

The issue of right, equality and, before that, of consciousness of oppression is thus a key point in the analysis of ethno-cultural movements, and force to bring the analysis to the individual dimension, whereby the cognitive domain is strongly influenced by emotions and feelings. I argue that the process of development of this consciousness is not linear but it rather moves along a complex, multifaceted, non-teleological path. In particular, a difference might exist between predominately endogenously or exogenously-driven processes of emancipation, with respect to the ‘quality’ of the emancipatory dynamic itself. An hypothesis inspired by this paper that would need further research is that the ‘quality of emancipation’, in terms of its potentialities of enhancing a ‘consciousness of oppression’ and the very ‘ontology of freedom’ that this would imply, is directly proportional to the degree of endogeneity of the emancipatory movement. An exemplification coming from another historical context could be the ways in which the universal suffrage was implemented in different countries and the consequences for the feminist movements. Namely, the differences between the United Kingdom, where it was the result of women movements’ struggle after the drastic social changes triggered by the First World War, and Turkey, where it was included in the constitutional reform of 1924, under the Atatürk one-party government. The consequences inscribed in the genesis of the feminist movements in the two countries are still visible today. In the study of social dynamics, it is hence paramount to consider the conditions in which supposedly emancipatory dynamics take place, the role of external actors, and, when possible, the effects in terms of the very individual and collective ontology of freedom.

ACHRONYMS

APCOB	Apoyo Para el Campesino Indígena del Oriente Boliviano (Support for the Peasant Indigenous of the Bolivian East)
ASUR	Antropólogos del Sur Andino (Anthropologists of de Andean South)
CIDOB	Central de los Pueblos Indígenas de Bolivia (Confederation of Indigenous People of Bolivia)
CIPCA	Centro de Investigación y Promoción del Campesinado (Center of Research and Promotion of the Peasantry)
CONAMAQ	Consejo Nacional of Ayllus y Markas del Qullasuyu (National Council of Ayllus and Markas of the Qullasuyu)
SDC	Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation
CSUTCB	Confederación Unica de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia (Unique Confederation of Peasant Workers of Bolivia)
DANIDA	Danish Development Cooperation
FASOR	Federation de Ayllus del Sur de Oruro (Federation of Ayllus of Southern Oruro)
INRA	Instituto Nacional de la Reforma Agraria (National Institute of the Agrarian Reform)
IWGIA	International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs
MAS	Movimiento al Socialismo (Movement Towards Socialism)
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
PMC	Pacto Militar Campesino (Military-Peasant Pact)
TCO	Tierra Comunitaria de Origen (Native Communitarian Land)
THOA	Taller de Historia Oral Andina (Workshop of Oral Andean History)

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